ANTI-STALINIST YOUTH OPPOSITION IN USSR
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THE MILITANT

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AFL, CIO PLAN MERGER OF 15,000,000

Pact with Chiang Puts U.S. OK on Theft of Formosa

By Daniel Roberts

On Feb. 10, the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty committing U.S. forces to defend Chiang Kai-Shek in his Formosa rathole.

By this treaty the U.S. government proclaims the right permanently to intervene in the internal affairs of China — specifically to defend that side in the Chinese civil war that is hated and repudiated by the Chinese people both on the mainland and in Formosa.

The objective of Wall Street's government is to cheat the colonial revolution of complete victory by maintaining the counter-revolutionary Chiang regime in power on Formosa. Also to build up a U.S. military base 100 miles from the Chinese mainland from which eventually to launch war against the Peking government. Formosa has become virtually a U.S. possession.

The ratification of the Formosa treaty comes as the climax to a series of war-like threats against the Peking regime in recent weeks. These include Congressional legislation authorizing use of American troops anywhere in the Far East including the mainland of China in defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. Secretary of State Dulles admitted to a Senate committee that this authorization amounted to a "pre-dated declaration of war" against the Chinese people.

In order to make the treaty appear legitimate the U.S. State Department and Churchill government in England now claim that Formosa is not necessarily a part of China. After all, they say, Japan seized Formosa in 1896 and the U.S. grabbed it from the Japanese in World War II.

As Aneurin Bevan, British Labor Party leader said in the House of Commons on Jan. 27, "Is it now an interpretation of international law that if you steal property from a thief you can hold it?"

WANTS TITLE TO BOOTY

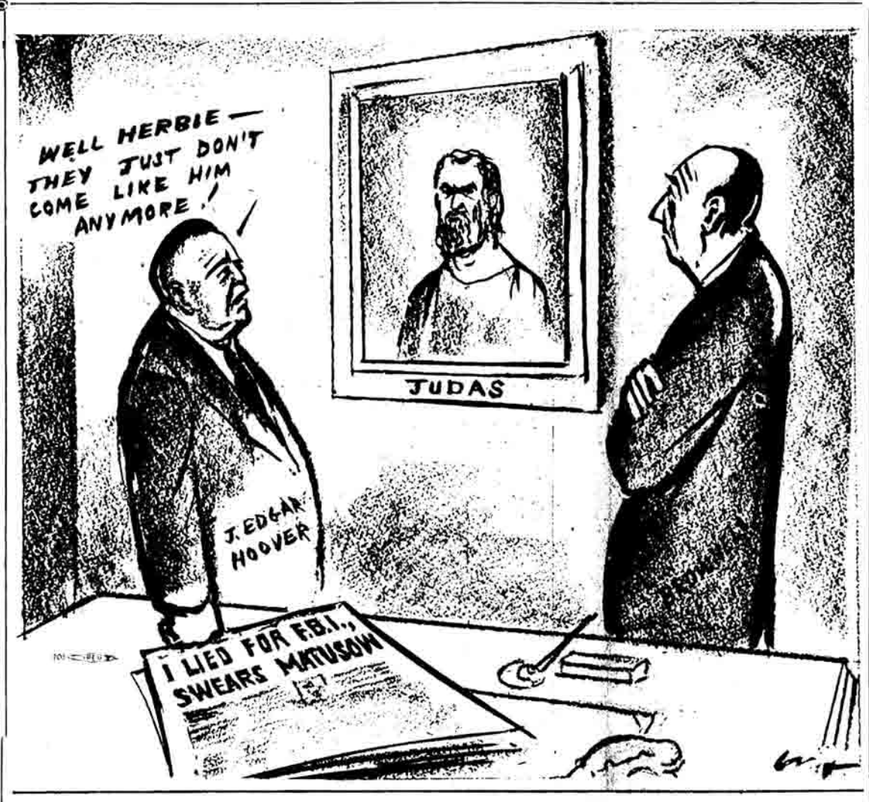
But it appears that having appropriated Formosa, the U. S. government is now willing to negotiate. Arthur Sylvester, a well-informed journalist, wrote in the Feb. 13 Newark News that "The United States is prepared to let the Quemoy and Matsu isands off the Chinese mainland go to Red China in exchange for a responsible guarantee there will be no attack on Formosa and the Pescadores . . . These flat statements of current American policy can be made without fear of contradiction from any top American official."

Any time the Peking regime gives the U. S. government a "quit-claim to Formosa," he says, "the United States will have no further interest in these islands."

Big deal! If the legitimate government of China placed in power by the will of the great majority of the country's 600 million people, will stop trying to recover what is its own, the thief will give up small parts of the booty. If not, the thief is ready with a pre-dated declaration of war.

And this is what the spokesmen of American capitalism call pursuing a policy of peace!

Even should this division be formalized, it will lead no more to lasting peace than does the division of Germany, Korea or Indo-China. In each place a time-bomb is planted that can set off World War III. The only road to achieve peace with China is to withdraw the Seventh Fleet from Formosa and scrap the shameful Formosa treaty. Let the Chinese people decide their own fate!



Philadelphia -- City of Old Slum Homes

By Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 7 — In this city, where 15,000 dwellings still lack inside toilets, people suffer from the slum conditions common to all industrial centers. To escape that social blight, those who have the financial means tend to move into the suburbs where better conditions prevail. This leaves within the city proper a growing concentration of lower-paid workers, together with the segregated Negro people who constitute almost one-fifth of the inhabitants.

DOBBS

Most Philadelphians live in "row houses," so named because they are joined together in long ranks somewhat like the compartments in an egg carton. The individual units are separated by a thin common wall through which each household can share the sounds of the neighbors' family life. The units themselves are usually partitioned into four little cubby-holes that pass for rooms.

Whites pay an average monthly rent of around $60 for these cubicles, plus extra charges for utilities. Negroes in the crowded ghettos pay about the same rent

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Still Another Informer For FBI Admits Lies

Mrs. Marie Natvig, 51, on Feb. 10 disclosed that she had been coerced by government attorneys and FBI agents last fall into giving false testimony, at Federal Communications Commission hearings, against Edward Lamb, owner of an Erie, Pa., newspaper and several radio and TV stations. She charged that she had then wanted to recant her false testimony that Lamb had associated with "Communists" but that an FCC attorney had prevented her from doing so.

The government witness told the reopened FCC hearings that when she had previously testified before it she "could no longer differentiate between fact and fiction." She revealed: "I was reciting a prepared speech. I was scared to death. They told me what the truth was and told me to tell it." She had been contacted originally by an FBI agent, she said, and was induced to testify by threats.

LATEST TO SPILL BEANS

Mrs. Natvig is the latest to join the growing string of government witnesses and paid informers who have confessed or been irrefutably proven to have committeed perjury in cases involving charges of "Communism" or "subversion."

The most sensational and damaging revelations have been made by one of the Justice Department's star witnesses and paid "experts" on "Communism," Harvey Matusow. He has confessed that he gave deliberately fabricated testimony at the behest of Justice Department agents in two federal trials leading to conviction and in numerous Senate and House witch-hunt committee hearings on "Communists in government," etc.

Desperate Justice Department officials are trying to intimidate and discredit Matusow in order to salvage their system of frameup through paid informers. They sought to hale Matusow before a federal grand jury for grilling on perjury charges before he could testify on the appeal for a new trial by the 13 Communist Party leaders convicted in the 1952 New York Smith Act trial.

Federal Judge Dimmock stayed the execution of the grand jury subpoena until Matusow could testify under cross-examination of the retrial appeal.

Albert E. Kahn, co-publisher of Matusow's forthcoming book, "False Witness," was sentenced to six month's imprisonment for "contempt of court" when he at first refused to produce confidential records of conversations with Matusow, contracts and all materials related to the book. He subsequently presented the demanded records and documents. One transcript of a conversation with Matusow revealed he had told Kahn that when he had accused Far East expert Owen Lattimore of being a Communist, "I didn't even know who Owen Lattimore was."

South African Racists Start Evictions

The white supremacist South African government has begun the forced removal of Africans from locations in Johannesburg, where they have lived for as long as fifty years, to new ghettos outside the city limits. Two installments of the gigantic moving program have already taken place. About 150 families were involved in each eviction.

Both evictions were carried out with stealth. The government announced moving dates and then carried out the evictions several days before. Thousands of police armed with rifles, bayonets, submachine guns and machine guns guarded the evictors from possible resistance. As soon as the Negro families had been hustled from their homes, wrecking crews went to work making the homes uninhabitable lest the ousted people should try to return.

RESISTANCE FEARED

Fearing resistance to this brutal part of its apartheid program, the government proclaimed a state of semi-martial law. All public meetings have been banned for a period of twenty days under the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Laws. Furthermore, arrests have taken place. Robert Resha, leader of the African National Congress in the Sophiatown area, has been seized by the police.

On the evening of Feb. 14 police seized 29 Negroes on alleged curfew violations and charged them with intending to interfere with the evictions secretly scheduled for the next morning.

As a threat and possibly as a prior justification for a massacre, Charles R. Swart, Minister of Justice, told the South African Parliament that the police had reliable information that Africans in Sophiatown illegally possessed arms including pistols, a few machine guns, hand grenades and explosives to manufacture home-made bombs.

VOICES OF PROTEST

Before meetings were banned, the African National Congress staged a parade through Sophiatown protesting the scheduled evictions. At a meeting of a white liberal organization sympathetic to the plight of the Africans, Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of South Africa and a participant several years ago in the passive-resistance demonstrations against apartheid, denounced the eviction policy. On the same platform, backing his views was Alan Paton, author of "Cry the Beloved Country."

Under new proposals in Parliament by government spokesmen all South African cities are to be made lily-white by deporting Africans beyond the city limits despite the fact that they are the labor force of these cities.

Unification Is Hastened By Economic Pressure And Open-Shop Attack

By Art Preis

After 20 years of split and bitter rivalry, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have reached an agreement for merger into one giant union movement of 15 million members. The agreement, signed on Feb. 12 by 20 top officials of the two organizations, is expected to be ratified by conventions of the AFL and CIO this fall. Final fusion into a new unified body is anticipated by the end of this year.

The united organization will form the largest union body ever known in the capitalist world. It will combine some 10 million AFL workers and 5 million CIO. The weight of this organized force is, as yet, incalculable. But it may well mark a whole new stage in the development of organized labor in the U.S. As the financial editor of the N. Y. World-Telegram put it, the merger "will create the greatest single economic force this nation has ever seen."

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

It has been apparent for some time that the great progressive principle of industrial unionism, which was at the heart of the historic schism that began in 1935, is no longer at issue. Industrial unionism has won the victory and is here to stay. This fact is recognized by all but the most diehard craft union officials.

The merger agreement, signed by the joint AFL and CIO Unity Committee and made public with a joint statement by AFL President George Meany and CIO President Walter Reuther, explicitly accepts the principle of industrial unionism. It states: **"The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organizations." It was the denial of this very proposition that led to the split two decades ago and the formation of the CIO.**

FURTHER GUARANTEES

A further guarantee that the merged unions of the CIO will not be carved up among the various craft divisions is contained in the agreement that "the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved." Further, the agreement embodies the principle of no discrimination for reasons of race or color. It states:

"The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of this principle of nondiscrimination."

Many reasons have been advanced as to why AFL-CIO un-

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AFL PRES. GEORGE MEANY (left) and CIO PRES. WALTER REUTHER shown on the occasion last year when they signed a two-year no-raiding pact. This proved to be the forerunner of the agreement, signed Feb. 9 by the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, for merger of the two organizations into one big federation.

Clemency Appeal Made To Save Irvin's Life

A final plea for the life of Walter Lee Irvin, framed-up survivor of the Groveland or "Little Scottsboro" case has been made to the Florida Board of Pardons. The plea by Irvin's lawyer is a petition for clemency asking that the Negro youth's sentence be commuted from death in the electric chair to life imprisonment.

In the plea for clemency Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel of Legal Defense for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, revealed that at Irvin's second trial in 1952 the state prosecutor, Jess Hunter, tried to make a deal by which Irvin would get a life sentence in return for pleading guilty. This offer was renewed, Marshall declared in his sworn statement, during the trial, the prosecutor promising that the offer was open until the case went to the jury.

Each time the prosecutor's offer was relayed to him Irvin refused, saying that he could not lie and swear he had raped a woman when he had not.

MOB "JUSTICE"

The background of this case was the decision in 1949 of the rulers of the Groveland district in Florida to scotch labor unrest in the local paper mill — where the majority of workers were Negro — by teaching the Negroes their "place." The opportunity soon arose with an alleged rape. Investigation makes it appear dubious that any rape ever took place. In subsequent trials the prosecution repeatedly refused to call as witness the physician who examined the woman soon after the alleged attack.

As soon as the cry of rape had been raised, organized mobs stormed the Negro section of Groveland burning and looting. A deputized mob killed one of the accused Negro youths.

A race-hating, all-white jury quickly found the accused guilty and sentenced the youngest, a 17-year old boy, to life imprisonment and Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, who were a few years older, to death. Appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court brought an order for a new trial. **Samuel Shepherd never got this new trial. On the way to the court the notorious white supremacist Sheriff Willis McCall, who was transporting the two handcuffed prisoners in his own car, suddenly pulled over to the side of a deserted stretch of road. He ordered his handcuffed prisoners out of the car and shot both of them.**

HIGH COURT WON'T ACT

Shepherd was dead and Irvin believed dead when other cars arrived. However, Irvin proved to be still alive and miraculously recovered from his wounds. McCall was never punished. A second trial for Irvin again before a prejudiced, lily-white jury brought another death sentence. The Supreme Court has refused to order a third trial.

To help save Irvin's life telegraph Governor Leroy Collins, Tallahassee, Florida. Have your union local and other organizations pass resolutions and wire them to the Florida Governor. Irvin must be saved!

The Real Situation in the Soviet Union

By M. Stein & J. G. Wright

Less than two years after Stalin died, the second post-Stalin regime of Khrushchev-Bulganin-Zhukov formally assumed power in the USSR.

When Stalin was entombed, the Soviet bureaucracy closed ranks around Malenkov-Beria-Molotov. In funeral orations on March 9, 1953, this trio proclaimed their platform of rule. Molotov confined himself to foreign policy and the "peace program." His two colleagues key-noted the "new course" at home.

Malenkov pledged abundance. Beria vowed a "liberalized" regime, under which Soviet civil liberties would be fully and unconditionally safeguarded. Within 100 days Beria was arrested and later shot. On February 8, 1955 came Malenkov's turn. His purge took the shape of resignation. **Of the two rulers who announced the "new course," the one lost his head, the other, the head-of-the-regime post.**

By the Malenkov "new course" regime the Soviet bureaucracy aimed to allay the rising mass discontent; and to sow illusions of bureaucratic "self-reform," in order in this way to check the workers and peasants from taking the road of open struggle. Stalinist apologists the world over tried to palm off the "new course" for good coin.

Malenkov's resignation, his confession of incompetence and failure is an acknowledgement that the "new course" was nothing but demagogy to begin with.

The "new course" was the program of the Soviet bureaucracy as a whole, and not of a particular "wing," least of all of Malenkov personally. It was advanced in the name of a "collective leadership;" it was unanimously approved by two solemn sessions of the Supreme Soviet and by plenary sessions of the party's Central Committee. Moreover, it was not promulgated for the Soviet Union alone, but for every country in the buffer zone, including East Germany. Khrushchev and Buganin promoted this program as hard as Malenkov.

By forcing Malenkov to accept sole responsibility for the "new course," the Soviet bureaucracy now seeks to shed its responsibility for it. It wants to picture it as the brain child of an incompetent and inexperienced individual. **By making a scapegoat of Malenkov, the Kremlin has served notice on the Soviet people that the season of "new course" demagogy is over. That any demands to satisfy mass needs are henceforth a crime.**

LOGIC OF PROMISES

The official motive for this about-face is the intensified world arms race. The basic motives are different. Among them is this, that the bureaucrats have discovered that promises, however fraudulent, have a logic of their own. They feed hopes, stimulate demands, promote a relaxation on the part of the masses, and feed discontent the longer these false promises remain unfulfilled. This carries the threat of mass explosions. Having blotted out the "new course," the burcaucracy has now no recourse other than a return to intensified repressions.

The overriding concern of imperialist spokesmen is to picture the crisis of Stalinism and its purge system as something inherent in the socialist revolution, in Soviet productive relations, in nationalized and planned economy. The truth is just the opposite.

The socialist conquests of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Soviet economic system and the needs of the Soviet masses require the broadest possible workers' democracy, the strictest control by the masses over management, planning production and distribution. The bureaucracy is an intolerable fetter upon Soviet life, above all on Soviet industry and agriculture. The internal Soviet urge is to get rid of the bureaucratic monstrosity.

Under the regime of bureaucratic absolutism, this irreconcilable conflict tends to translate itself into a personal struggle for power among the bureaucratic tops. **The whole point, however, is that the real struggle — of which the struggle at the top is a distorted reflection — is, on the one side, the struggle of the Soviet masses to overthrow the bureaucracy by taking the road of political revolution; and, on the other side, the struggle of the bureaucracy as a whole to maintain its positions of power, and privilege at all costs.**

In this connection, let us note that the bi-partisan foreign policy of U.S. imperialism has provided the greatest aid and comfort to the Kremlin bureaucracy in its struggle for survival. The one thing that the universally hated Kremlin rulers are still able plausibly to exploit is the well-grounded fear of the Soviet masses of U.S. aggression against the USSR. This is a key factor in bringing to the fore military figures, political generals like Bulganin, and professional militarists like Zhukov. Zhukov can indeed thank his "good friend" Eisenhower, just as the Soviet bureaucracy as a whole is obliged to war-mongering U.S. capitalists, for affording them the one remaining fig-leaf.

THE NEW TRIO

The first post-Stalin regime was a regime of crisis; so is the regime of Khrushchev-Bulganin-Zhukov.

The new trio inherits all of the unresolved world and domestic contradictions of the Malenkov days, all of the accumulated mass discontent and hatred; and this, under circumstances less favorable than when Stalin died. The Soviet bureaucracy now confronts new difficulties and contradictions. To list a few:

The overall deal the Kremlin wants with Washington and Western imperialism generally remains elusive. The "Four Power Conference," which appeared

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The American Way of Life

Death of a Hero

You've seen his picture dozens of times maybe in the last ten years. It's been published over and over in the newspapers and magazines. They throw it into the newsreels every chance they get. Just recently they finished a heroic-sized statue of him and set it up in Washington. He's Ira Hayes, an American Indian, who was one of the six marines in that famous photograph of the raising of the U.S. flag atop Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima in 1945.

Last Jan. 24—you may have missed the story because it didn't rate more than a few inside paragraphs in most papers — Ira Hayes died of exposure on the Pima Indian Reservation in Arizona. They say he was overcome by alcohol and lay helpless in the freezing weather until he died. But it wasn't drink that killed Ira Hayes. It was a crushed spirit and a broken heart.

The Associated Press account of his death gave a brief one-sentence glimpse of what happened to Ira Hayes when he came back to the country that the white men had stolen from his ancestors. "The post-war years were not kind to Mr. Hayes. He wandered from his reservation home in Southern Arizona and tried vainly to find a place for himself in the white man's peacetime world."

There was no room for Ira Hayes in race-hating capitalist white America which massacred the Indians, robbed them of their lands and herded them into glorified concentration camp areas called "reservations." After his funeral, Rene Gagnon, one of the two remaining survivors of that flag-raising on Iwo Jima, said of Ira Hayes:

"Let's say he had a little dream in his heart that some day the Indian would be like the white man . . . be able to walk all over the United States."

Ira Hayes himself once put it this way: "I want to be out on my own. But out in Arizona the white race looks down on the Indian as if he were a little man, and I don't stand a chance anywhere off the reservation. . ."

He didn't stand a chance on the reservation either. Most of the half million full-blooded survivors of the original inhabitants of this country, the Indians, are treated worse than animals. In the Arizona reservations, the Indians average an annual income of less than $600. In some states, it's less than $500. Among one group of Indians—the Papagos — the life span averages 17 years. The Navajos suffer 12 to 15 times as much from tuberculosis as the rest of the population. They average less than one year of education and on some reservations there are no schools for thousands of Indian children.

But the white men who had robbed his people, who treated him as less than human and forced him back into a concentration camp in the wastelands, did right for him after he was dead. They buried him in Arlington National Cemetery near the Unknown Soldier and they will use his memory to propangandize American youth for the next war for "democracy."

By Art Preis

Why They Starve the Schools

By Frank Lovell
SWP Candidate for Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction

All the talk in Washington and in the legislatures of many states now about what is called the "crisis in education" is based on solid facts, but the sudden interest and concern of the politicians is motivated by sordid factionalism between Democrats and Republicans who have no solution to the problem of education in this country and are hard pressed to find any real differences on this issue to fight about.

There is in fact a crisis in education. That is admitted on all sides because the facts are indisputable and have been known for a long time. Repeated surveys have exposed the inadequate classroom facilities, the teacher shortage, and the abysmal teaching standards in American schools. In Washington a special House sub-committee recently reported — unanimously — that between $10 and $12 billion is needed at once to build classrooms for children now in school or of school age. And in the years ahead increased enrollment will require more billions of dollars for expansion of the school system, the report added.

LESS TEACHERS

The Fund for the Advancement of Education has revealed that "the number of people preparing to teach is going down. The annual output of elementary and high school teachers has dropped 26% since 1950 while enrollments in elementary and high schools have risen 24 and 10 per cent respectively."

Clarence Faust, educator and president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, warns against the failure of the schools "to liberate the mind from prejudices" and prepare the youth "to think profitably about important questions."

There is very little notice taken of these warnings about our present educational standards. All the proposals so far about what must be done right away to solve the crisis in education are confined to building programs. There is a reason for this. Schoolhouses are the most obvious need. And besides this a building program always provides funds for graft of all forms.

Eisenhower has finally presented to Congress the program of his administration for school construction. This program allows for the most commonly accepted form of graft. It calls for the issuance of bonds by local school agencies which will make the localities indebted to the banks that buy up the bonds. Interest payments on these bonds continue over the years and syphon off millions for the profits of the bankers that ought to be used to maintain and expand the schools.

The Eisenhower program is more an aid program for the bankers than it is for the schools. The $1 billion federal expenditure over a period of three years that his plan calls for is money that will be used for the most part to underwrite the complicated loan and bond-issue arrangements.

The Democrats are having a heyday in Washington, charging that the administration plan "drives the school districts further into debt," offers "a very paltry sum that could build relatively few classrooms," and shows "more concern for private lenders than for the needs of our children."

DEMOCRATIC BILL

The "solution" to the crisis in education offered by the Democrats is the emergency bill sponsored by Lister Hill from Alabama, chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This bill calls for direct federal grants to states of $500 million a year for two years for school construction. Thus, the Democrats are proposing to spend a billion in two years, the Republicans want to spread it out over three years. The important difference between them is the Democrats want to cut the loan sharks out of the deal and leave more slush for the building contractors and real estate swindlers.

Under either plan — if either is finally adopted — there will be some new schools built, but they will be far below present needs.

There is not so much talk about raising teachers' salaries as there is about the need for new buildings. One of the reasons is that appropriations for this purpose don't fall so easily into the hands of those who hang around the public grab bag. Another reason is that those in Washington who presently profess great concern about free public education are completely indifferent to the teaching standards in the schools. Therefore they are not interested in attracting qualified and capable people to the teaching profession.

WHY MORE SCHOOLS?

One prominent advocate of "emergency measures" to build schools is the illustrious Democratic Senator Lister Hill, who hails from the great state of Alabama, noted for its educational system and "high academic standards."

Here is what Hill gives as his main reason for wanting to build more schools: "We must face up to the inadequacy of salaries in the teaching profession at every level of education, the need for new facilities confronting institutions of higher learning, and the ominous fact that our educational system is turning out far fewer engineers and scientists of all kinds than is Communist Russia."

He added to this his reasons for concern for public health: "We must not forget that our country must look to a network of public health officers to make up the backbone of civilian defense medical teams and to provide prompt and adequate safeguards against the dangers of water pollution, radiation, smog, bacteriological warfare, and similar health hazards (sic) which confront today's world."

These statements by Hill, giving his views on why we must improve our educational system and our public health system reveal the real reason why neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can legislate for an adequate school system in this country. These remarks by Hill are supported by every member of Congress, including Hubert Humphrey the misnamed "liberal" spokesman of the Democratic Party, and the independent, Morse.

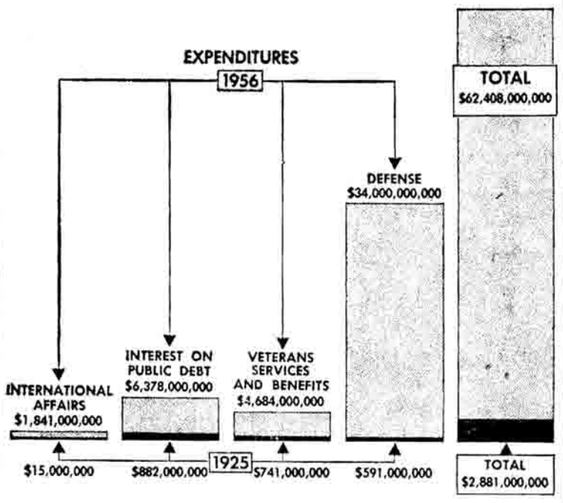
Their twisted outlook prevents them from seeing any reason for education other than as an aid to war preparations.

It apparently has not occurred to these gentlemen that the most rapid decline of the educational system took place during the war years and this period of war preparations in the aftermath of the last bloodbath. Quite aside from the increase in population which demanded an expansion of the schools to keep up with the increasing numbers of students, the school facilities have declined and degenerated during the past fifteen years.

The fact of the matter is that a genuine free educational system — a system that promotes "the capacity for mature reflection and the process of discursive reasoning" that serious educators like Clarence Faust yearn for — is incompatible with war and a war economy.

(First of a series.)

Budget Comparisons



The vast rise in the federal government budget in four important categories is illustrated in this chart, which gives 1956 totals at top (shaded) and 1925 totals (black) at bottom. Note that interest on public debt, mainly due to World War II and Korean War, now is more than twice the entire 1925 budget.

$15,000 Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Seattle	$ 175	141.50	80
Detroit	750	520	69
Allentown	75	48	64
Chicago	1,600	896.50	56
Newark	275	147.50	54
San Francisco	800	394	53
Philadelphia	400	210	53
Milwaukee	250	125	50
Boston	600	277	46
Cleveland	250	115	46
New York	3,200	1,276.50	40
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	400	33
St. Louis	75	24.50	33
Los Angeles	3,000	942.33	31
Youngstown	200	50	25
Oakland	300	59	20
Pittsburgh	150	30	20
Buffalo	1,600	225	14
Akron	125	0	0
General	—	1	—
Total through Feb. 15	$15,025	$5,882.83	39

SEATTLE CAPTURES LEAD IN PRESS FUND DRIVE

By Constance Farr
Campaign Manager

"Where else but in The Militant could you find an authentic account of what's going on among the people in the Soviet Unions?" asks a reader who is struck by the contrast between the attempts made by the capitalist newspapers to piece together the puzzle, and the remarkable series running currently in this paper by Brigitte Gerland.

Articles in the magazine sections of the big Sunday newspapers feature "inside" articles by journalists who have lived many years in the Soviet Union. They are able to observe little more than tourists. There is no mention, for instance, of the religious sects, and anyone who has followed the articles in The Militant knows that there is good reason why the established religions shy away from the implications of the "Monashki" program.

The Militant, a newspaper without paid advertising, is currently conducting a $15,000 fund-raising drive. To publish a newspaper which fearlessly prints the news from the point of view of the interests of the workers and oppressed is unusually difficult today, when the tide of reaction is at full height, and costs are increasing. Readers of The Militant have pledged to raise the money to keep the paper going. Already, Seattle has sent in 80% of its quota, well ahead of the elapsed time for the campaign.

"Of course, we are quite pleased to be first nationally," writes **Clara Kaye**, the Campaign Director. "We feel that the secret of our 'success' lies in our purposefully early start. We know from painful past experience that the best laid fund-drive plans, no matter how carefully budgeted, go astray as readers who have made pledges lose jobs, acquire unexpected expences, etc. So this time we are getting our pledge in fast — before any deluge can drown out our good intentions. We are proud of the record of five contributors whose pledges were paid in full by February 3rd.

"You might be interested to know that we have a beautiful fund-drive poster on our campaign headquarters wall, painted by Ann, and featuring twin thermometers — one showing Seattle's status (in percentage) and the other showing the national average. Thus we get not only an absolute but a relative picture of our progress."

This week, Allentown took the biggest upward jump. From being at the bottom of the scoreboard, it went to third place, with 64% of its quota paid. How about, Akron?

Although ten cities are ahead of schedule the national average is lagging. As of February 15, when the Scoreboard was made up, 46% of the total should be in. However, we are behind by seven percent. Perhaps by next week we will catch up and our hard-working Militant staff can feel that all of the readers are behind their efforts to publish the best workers' newspaper in the country.

...Philadelphia--City of Old Slums

(Continued from page 1)

but they generally get only half as much space as the whites and must share the bathroom between families. Ants and fleas come free for Negroes and whites alike.

Those who can establish the necessary credit often buy the row house in which they must live so they can be free to remodel it in an effort to overcome the caged-up feeling these dwellings create. They then redecorate in bright pastel shades, tear down partitions and even sacrifice the tiny yard space at the rear to tack on an extra room. But no matter how ingenious they may be in trying to create their dream home, it is a losing battle for most because time is working against them.

SLUMS GROW

On the average these row houses are from 50 to 60 years old. Some still in use were built before the Civil War. Basic deterioration continues no matter what the surface repairs, gradually but inevitably these houses disintegrate into slums. Also falling into slum decay are the "temporary" housing projects thrown together during World War II, most of which are still occupied today.

Some new public housing of better quality has been constructed in recent years, usually near oil refineries, railroad yards and the like, where the worst shacks were demolished to make way for the new projects. Monthly rents in these installations, including utilities range from $21 to $55 according to the space allotted. The city collects the equivalent of a ten percent rent tax in the projects.

Negroes are usually segregated into housing units having inferior facilities. Social workers snoop through the projects prying into peoples' affairs and incomes. A wage increase, no matter how badly it may be needed for the general household budget, can bring the misfortune of eviction if the family is ruled to have risen out of the "low-income" class, as defined by capitalist law.

There has been so little done on public housing here that the few projects now in existence remain ringed by large slum areas that are going from bad to worse. So great is the need for new dwellings among Philadelphia's 600,000 individual families, that Eisenhower's whole national housing program, with the entire Democratic program added on top of it, wouldn't be enough to solve the housing problem of this city alone.

To grasp the over-all difficulties the workers face here, let us examine the budget of a couple with two children who are buying a 50-year-old row house. The husband, a skilled worker, **draws a wage somewhat above** average and the wife also works when she can. Together they earned about $6,000 last year.

Of this total sum, $800 went for taxes. Another $1,000 was paid out on the mortgage, utilities, fuel, repairs and improvements for the house. Food cost about $2,000. They spent some $2,100 on such items as clothing, medical care, insurance, installment payments, union dues, donations, entertainment, operation of an old-model car and trolley fares. At the end of the year they had saved $100 for emergencies.

Imagine then the problems created for thousands of workers hit by unemployment, which had begun to decline here after reaching a peak last August, but is now slowly increasing once more. A continued slump in several key industries has badly shaken the basic employment structure, even though some industries are again stepping up production and in a few cases expanding plant facilities.

Steel output is rising here in the Delaware Valley, due mainly to the recent opening of U.S. Steel's ultra-modern Fairless plant at nearby Morrisville. Another production boost will be given by a similar plant Bethlehem Steel plans to construct in the Valley. New oil refineries are also springing up in this area which has become the country's second-largest refining center. This expansion provides some new employment, but in both steel and oil new jobs are created at a slower rate than the production increase because of technological developments that cut manpower needs.

LIMITED "RECOVERY"

Auto plants here are back in general operation in line with the current national production race in that industry, but it is a full-employment bubble that can be expected to break later in the year. The Westinghouse turbine plant, on the other hand, has not yet called back 600 workers hit last year in a lay-off that would have cut about three times as deeply if half the plant had not been reduced to a four-day week.

Production is still in a severe slump at the vast Baldwin locomotive works where about half the normal labor force remains laid off. The shipyards here, one of the biggest ship-building installations in the country, are today at the lowest level of production since the deepest phase of the depression in the Thirties.

The sag in chemical, textile, garment, food, printing and electrical goods production has not yet been overcome. Around one-fifth of the Valley industries are operating on limited production schedules in order to reduce inventories. Meanwhile coal miners, especially the younger elements hardest hit by chronic unemployment in the anthracite fields, are drifting toward this industrial region looking for jobs.

At present about 18,000 people are unemployed in this area. They now face the threat of a one-third reduction in jobless benefits because Pennsylvania's unemployment compensation reserve fund has been consumed almost to the "peril point" at which such a cut becomes automatic under the present state law.

"WATCHING AND WAITING"

These hard conditions are producing a deep-seated uneasiness among the workers generally about their future economic security. Those with jobs are bent on getting what they can while they can.

Employed and unemployed alike are hoping, with varying degrees of faith, that the Democratic party will come through with a modern version of the New Deal that will begin to straighten things out. The workers are prepared to support the Democrats in order to give them that chance, but they aren't going to like it when the capitalist politicians fail to deliver on their promises.

Beneath the present hope in the Democratic party still another mass sentiment seems to be gradually developing. This sentiment was described to me by a Philadelphia worker in these words: "I get the distinct impression that more and more workers are watching and waiting for something to happen that will make everybody mad enough to act."

...AFL-CIO Merger

(Continued from page 1)

ity has become realizable at this time. Most of these have to do with subjective factors respecting the top leaders of the two organizations. But the primary factor in forcing unity on the AFL and CIO, despite a continuance of certain narrow organizational and bureaucratic rivalries, is an objective one.

The American labor movement has been in retreat, in the main, since the ebb of the great strike wave in 1946. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law in 1947 and the growing flood of state "right-to-scab" laws have put the crimps on the organization of new groups of workers and endangered many old unions. The upsurge of political reaction that lead to the GOP victory in 1952 and the rise of McCarthyism, which for a time threatened to sweep the country, reinforced the sentiment for labor unity in the ranks and frightened many of the top union officials as well.

Moreover, the threat of economic crisis and unemployment has been in the air for two years. The new problem of wholesale elimination of jobs through automation has contributed to a great sense of insecurity in the union ranks and the union leaders have been impelled to offer an answer to it.

THE LEADERS' AIMS

Unity of the two major labor organizations, with the immense power potential this implies, is the solution which the labor officials now offer. But they do not envisage any more militancy in their methods or more radical demands or more independent political action. They are going on the assumption that the sheer weight of membership in the combined organization will suffice to enhance their bargaining power economically and politically. Primarily they hope to use this increased bargaining power to entrench themselves more firmly in the Democratic Party.

There is no little concern among union militants that the unification will represent a coalescence of the two bureaucracies and a mutual strengthening of the officialdom against the ranks. The labor bureaucrats undoubtedly have this in mind and, initially, the initiative and militancy of the ranks may be further stifled.

A LOGIC OF ITS OWN

But this is not a condition that can last in these times. A unified labor movement will have a logic and development of its own. On the one hand, the consciousness of their immense organized numbers and potential power will imbue the workers with increased confidence. They will expect more of their organization and demand more. On the other hand, enormous economic pressures and social conflicts are building up under the surface of American capitalist society. These will once more set the American workers into motion as they did in the momentous rise of the CIO.

The CIO alone is almost twice the size of the whole labor movement back in 1933. It brings into the new united labor organization a body of tradition that will provide a leaven within the unified ranks. The CIO leaders are scarcely distinguishable today in habit and outlook from the old-line moguls of the AFL. But the CIO as an organization embodies in its ranks the experience and memory of those new methods of struggle which the CIO used so effectively in its early heroic days — the sitdown, the mass picket lines, the flying squadrons.

We have every reason to welcome the unity of organized labor in the firm belief above all, that 15 million organized workers, united in one great union, will not willingly accept forever submission to the capitalist political machines. **Sooner or later they will break through the bureaucratic crust and push forward to a political party of their own. That will be the greatest day in American labor history.**

"THE BAREFOOT CONTESSA"

By Trent Hutter

When I first read about "The Barefoot Contessa" I was not much interested. But once again the bourgeois press had been misleading in its movie reviews (as in so many other matters). A friend advised me to see the independently-produced motion picture, written and directed by Joseph Mankiewicz, because of its social satire and frankly anti-capitalist dialogue. So I went to see it and found it a very exciting film indeed, which I recommend to all our readers.

"The Barefoot Contessa" is the story of a dancer from a Madrid slum who becomes a famous movie star but is never corrupted by millionnaire-producers or "international society." Compared to the fare that is generally offered by the big Hollywood studios, this American picture filmed in Italy with Ava Gardner, Humphrey Bogart, Edmond O'Brien, Rossano Brazzi, and other good actors, is very unconventional: A heroine who hates her mother, the dismal poverty of the Spanish people (who are always happy and romantic in the typical Hollywood scripts), the plebeian lover whom the actress takes up with wherever she goes (even in Hollywood), the completely unscrupulous, brutal, ill-mannered American tycoon who gets furious when someone insults God, the degenerate "international set" with its pretenders to lost royal crowns, rich and useless aristocrats and snobs gossiping and gambling in the casinos of the French Riviera, the cynical South American billionnaire-playboy who spends more on the upkeep of his private yacht than on the wages of the workers who toil for him in his mines, an Italian aristocrat whose genital organs were destroyed in a World War II explosion, and his sister who realizes that aristocracy has no hope, no future; — which of the big Hollywood studios' products would dare to speak of such persons with such basic sincerity?

In "The Barefoot Contessa" each individual character also represents a social phenomenon. In this respect the plot which some critics have called "fantastic" is very realistic. Social satire is based on a social situation that actually exists, while the many Hollywood movies that show characters suspended in mid air, without the ground of social reality to stand on, are truly "fantastic." Slick as they may be, they tend to distort reality.

The scathing argument between the American and the South American billionnaire is one of the "Contessa's" highlights. The South American playboy reproaches the U.S. capitalist quite justly with being as useless as he is but unwilling to admit it, a hypocrite who veils his parasitism in a cloud of God-fearing morality, while he, the South American, openly admits that he is only a lazy good-for-nothing and a coward and spends millions on his pleasures, wishing to enjoy life without pretending to have any mission. And in fact we see that the American capitalist is just as much of a coward as his temperamental South American colleague. No, you shouldn't miss "The Barefoot Contessa"!

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) charges that our natural resources face great internal danger ". . . at the hands of the selfish spoilsmen of America." He added: "It appears that the administration program is designed to let the private power companies skim the cream while Uncle Sam gets the dregs."

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...The Real Situation Inside the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

so imminent under Malenkov, has now been thrust into the background. But even if such a conference were held what could it solve basically? The main source of world tensions today is counter-revolutionary U. S. imperialism. Its bi-partisan foreign policy has as its main aim to contain the Chinese revolution in order then to move to crush it and then quell the global colonial revolution.

Hence the U.S. refusal to recognize the Mao regime, without whose participation any agreement there can be no real relaxation of world tensions.

In addition to the two dominant world powers — the U.S. and the USSR — there exist in the world today two more decisive world forces. One is revolutionary China. The second, the insurgent colonial and semi-colonial masses. They will not be, they cannot be discounted in the existing world of forces.

Meanwhile a significant change has occurred in the world and domestic position of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely because of developments in China and in the colonial revolutionary process.

Since Stalin died, the Soviet bureaucracy tried to emphasize its eagerness for a deal. There were relative cuts made in the Soviet arms budget. Now in response to the U.S. imperialist drive to rearm West Germany and Japan, and to convert Formosa and the Pescadores into a major bastion in the Pacific, in addition to hundreds of others, the Soviet bureaucracy found itself compelled to sharply increase arms expenditures. This change imposes a further burden on the already strained Soviet economy.

As touches the puppet regimes in the buffer zone, including East Germany, the Kremlin gears their economies to that of the USSR by simply issuing orders. The case is otherwise in Peking-Moscow relations. In a very definite sense the Soviet economy must now be adjusted to meet, at least in part, the needs of China's first Five Year Plan, along with her need to modernize and expand her own armed forces.

Here the Kremlin bureaucracy is in no position to dictate. It must deal with Mao as an equal partner, and one who cannot be fobbed off with the same miserly "trade agreements" as were still possible in the days of Malenkov. **It is not the Mao regime that now sends deputations to Moscow to haggle for months over a few hundred million roubles. It is now a Bulganin, who travels to Peking, and in his wake, a Khrushchev, at the head of imposing delegations. The concessions to Mao already made have been substantial. More are in the offing. This change in the itineraries between Moscow and Peking graphically underscores China's new role as a world power.**

Translated into economic terms this means that the Soviet bureaucracy can no longer conduct planned production according to Soviet needs exclusively, as was the case under Stalin and still under Malenkov. Henceforward the plan must be geared, at least in part, to China's growing needs and demands.

STALIN'S "THEORY"

Stalin's economic policy stemmed from the concept of building a self-sufficient industry within the Soviet borders. This is the gist of the infamous theory of "socialism in one country." To expand industry the bureaucracy sabotaged and betrayed the revolution in the advanced countries and the colonies for the sake of maintaining the status quo.

It succeeded in preventing the extension of the revolution to the advanced countries, which alone would have integrated Soviet industry with those of the developed countries and opened up the reserves of the world economy for the Soviet people.

However, the growth of Soviet industry which has in the meantime taken place has not lessened Soviet dependence on the world market, but, on the contrary, has enormously increased this dependence.

At the same time the triumph of the Chinese revolution has imposed on the Stalinist bureaucracy an alliance with a vast, agricultural nation, the largest in the world, which requires above all else capital goods, heavy equipment for industry, transportation and agriculture. This is history's unexpected revenge upon the sponsors of the theory of "socialism in one country." China's needs put a great strain on Moscow's relations with the Mao regime and render more intolerable the situation at home. China's need likewise can only aggravate the Kremlin's relations with the buffer countries, including East Germany.

This brings us to another important change that has taken place since Stalin died. Under Malenkov the chronic Soviet farm crisis became acute. Its solution has now been relegated to the year 1960! By the end of 1954 the previously existing shortages of foodstuffs and raw materials started to affect Soviet industry. In other words, the Soviet farm crisis is beginning to be converted into a crisis of the current Five-Year Plan and of Soviet economy as a whole.

CRISIS OF 5-YEAR PLAN

The Kremlin's zigzag course between heavy and light industry results from the powerful world and domestic pressures it is subjected to. The renewed emphasis on heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods production, and to the injury of mass living standards will bring the bureaucracy into conflict with the Soviet people.

The Soviet working class, the second largest in the world, is putting forward its own demands for tolerable living and working conditions. So are the peasants. These demands the bureaucracy cannot satisfy.

The relations between the bureaucracy and the masses have thus worsened. Mass hopes and illusions can no longer be exploited by demagogic promises as was possible following Stalin's death. On the contrary the widening gulf between the bureaucracy's living standards and those of the mass of the people has brought social hatred and discontent to the pitch of explosions.

The uprising of the East German workers on June 17, 1953, the Vorkuta general strike of 250,000 political prisoners in the Arctic coal pits which started on July 20, 1953 and lasted for more than three months, and which had the sympathy and aid of the soldier-guards, are not mere episodes. They are the heralds of the oncoming revolution.

The bureaucracy is fully aware of the explosive temper of the masses. Its response is unmistakable — to tighten the regime, to intensify the repressions. Instead of pretending to conciliate with the moods of relaxation induced by and among the masses following Stalin's death, the bureaucracy must henceforth bring the fullest pressure to bear, driving the already discontened and aroused workers and peasants to ever-greater sacrifices and hardships.

Within the bureaucratic caste itself a significant change has likewise taken place. When Stalin died the main impulsion was, as the party's "Unity Call" then put it, to close ranks in the name of "unity and cohesion, staunchness of spirit and vigilance." The hope was that the problem of succession to Stalin's mantle would be quickly solved. It has instead grown more acute.

Moods of relaxation within the bureaucracy itself — "no more arbitrary secret-police rule," "no more purges," "collective leadership," "greater freedom for the arts and sciences," etc. etc. — all these have given way to new fears, accentuated by the purges which had already taken place under Malenkov, and which culminated in the downfall of Malenkov himself.

The bureaucratic ranks now tend to become divided precisely because of the unresolved crisis of succession. Within the general mood of insecurity of the bureaucracy as a whole, layer upon bureaucratic layer feels less and less secure. To the associates of "Beria and his aides" there now have been added the associates of the demoted Mikoyan plus the associates of Malenkov.

And how secure can Khrushchev's associates feel, not to mention those of Bulganin? With the mounting agricultural and industrial difficulties what can be the moods among the echelons of the managerial and administrative personnel? As for the army chiefs, the officer corps, still permeated with the secret police, how certain are they of what tomorrow may bring?

The aggravation of the crisis of succession will bring even more sharply to the fore in the next period the political function of the purge under the Stalinist system. In the nearly two years since Stalin died it has been amply demonstrated that the bureaucracy cannot devise any new methods of rule.

Malenkov's downfall underscores that the bureaucracy cannot solve its most burning internal crisis, that of succession, except through the method of purge. It is the only way of advancing the supreme arbiter, who is by this token, the Purger-in-Chief.

* * *

The imperialists can derive no comfort from the crisis of Stalinism. They are actually as fearful of the downfall of the bureaucracy at the hands of the masses as the Soviet despots themselves. The revival of workers' democracy in the USSR on the basis of the economic conquests of the 1917 Revolution, would tumble the existing barriers between the Soviet masses and the Western working class, including that of the USA, fuse the delayed proletarian revolution in the advanced countries with the surge of the colonial masses. It would be the beginning of the end for American and world capitalism.

The imperialist can, as they have, easily make compromises with the Soviet bureaucracy; but not with the resurgent revolution.

The iron necessity of ridding the Soviet Union of the Kremlin rulers has already advanced the new forces for organizing and inspiring the masses to struggle. These forces have already passed through their first major test. It was the glorious Leninist Youth that headed the Vorkuta general strike, the biggest mass action since the 1917 Revolution.

TROTSKY'S PROGRAM

Thus Trotsky's transitional Program for the USSR is coming to life. Here it is:

"A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against **social inequality** and **political oppression**. Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! Down with Stakhanovism! Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of labor!

"The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of **Soviet democracy.**

"The bureaucracy replaced the Soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights — in the style of Hitler-Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the Soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeoisie and kulaks were not permitted to enter the Soviets, so now **it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the Soviets.** In the Soviets there is room only for representatives of the workers, rank-and-file collective farmers peasants and Red Army men.

"Democratization of the Soviets is impossible without **legalization of Soviet parties.** The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognize as Soviet parties.

"A revision of **planned economy** from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers! Factory committees should be returned the right to control production. A democratically organized consumers' cooperative should control the quality and price of products.

"Reorganization of the collective farms in accordance with the will and in the interests of the workers there engaged!

"The reactionary **international policy** of the bureaucracy should be replaced by the policy of proletarian internationalism. The complete diplomatic correspondence of the Kremlin to be published. Down with **secret diplomacy!**

"All political trials, staged by the Thermidorian bureaucracy, to be reviewed in the light of complete publicity and controversial openness and integrity. Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development toward socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection — the party of the Fourth International!"

Before the Axe Fell

EX-PREMIER GEORGI M. MALENKOV (right) of Soviet Union shown a few days before his ouster with Nikita S. Khrushchev, deputy premier and secretary of the Communist Party. Nikolai A. Bulganin succeeded Malenkov.

The Japanese Crisis -- an Asian Report

By Colvin R. de Silva

All the world now knows that there is a political crisis in Japan. But the replacement of the "Liberal" Yoshida by the Conservative Hatoyama as Prime Minister can create misconceptions as to the direction in which the crisis is developing.

In truth, the fall of Yoshida and the installation of Hatoyama as a caretaker Prime Minister represents a victory for the Left in general and the Socialists in particular. Only the Left in Japan wanted and demanded a general election. The Right, despite its internecine rivalries, abhorred the thought of a general election. Clearly, the Socialists of both wings have combined in a successful manoeuver to utilize the divisions within the Right to the advantage of the Left. All observers are agreed that the Socialists will gain in this general election.

However, the question whether the Left will go into the general election as a united force remains to be determined. The differing viewpoints and policies of the Left and Right Socialists are not readily reconcilable, as negotiations during the last few months have already shown. A Left Government cannot, therefore, be easily expected out of the general election. **It is thus all the more to the credit of the socialist movement as a whole that they have not fallen into the error of Popular Frontism, in the form of an electoral alliance with Hatoyama. The Stalinists of Japan are only too ready for such a move, as was shown by a statement which they issued just before I left Japan.**

Whether the Left and Right Socialists come together or not for the general election, it is very likely that the Hatoyama forces and the Yoshida forces will combine, as the only means of saving themselves. Certainly, the pressure of their respective capitalist backers will be exercised in that direction, because such pressure for the two sides to settle their differences was already being exercised even before Yoshida's fall.

If the Socialists cannot settle amongst themselves, the reason is to be found not in them, but in the situation. Japan is going through a severe and deepening economic crisis. This in turn is beginning to induce the preliminary stages of a social crisis, whose real convulsions are still to come. **All Left groupings have fundamentally to orientate themselves in relation to this developing social crisis, rather than the existing economic crisis. This fact creates a basic obstacle in the way of Left unity, for the differences in the essential programs of the Left and Right Socialists in relation to the social crisis go deeper than mere questions of the means of surmounting the crisis.**

DIFFERENCES

Underlying the differences between the Right and Left Socialist parties is really the difference between reformism and embryonic revolutionism. The Left Socialist Party has already the potentialities of revolutionary development. Its anti-Stalinism has not driven it into the imperialist camp, but only to a neutralist position, which is considerably infused with a more and more open sympathy for China, in particular.

The hatred of the Soviet Government, which is so prevalent in Japan, is reflected in the Left Socialist Party, too, and stands in the way of its understanding of the general character of the USSR as a workers' state. But this may well be surmounted as the international situation develops and the crisis in Japan itself clarifies issues and teaches lessons.

The crisis will certainly last long, because Japan finds herself in an economic impasse out of which there is no "normal" way. What appears to the orthodox as a problem of markets and of economic reorganization is, in fact, a problem of social reconstruction. What with the emergence of a Red China and also the establishment of the series of politically independent states in South East Asia, the conception of Japan's economic problem as merely a problem of getting back to her old Asian markets is really a conception of the restoration of a Hierarchical Japan, organized for external aggression.

Everything that is progressive and socialistic in Japan must obviously recoil from such a prospect. And yet, those who recoil must also provide their alternative. Economics doesn't wait on good-will, but on action. The alternative to markets abroad is a faster-developing market at home. This, in turn, means a socialist Japan.

It is idle to imagine that Socialist Japan can emerge from anything but revolution. The working class of Japan, which is already organized in the mass and has shown high militancy in action, will learn this in struggle, even despite reformist leaders.

This working class, which was strongly under Stalinist influence after the war, has now turned away from the Stalinists. Thereby, the way has been cleared for a quicker revolutionary development of the working class movement in Japan. The time is not far off when powerful actions, of a consciously revolutionary character, will take place. The coming general election can be only a stage in the development of the situation.

No clear cut decision to the Left or the Right is likely to arise from it. An unstable political situation which is the most likely outcome of the coming general election, will itself stoke further the fires of crisis. It is not in the parliamentary field that the future of Japan will be decided.

(Reprinted from the Samasamajist, English weekly of the Ceylon Trotskyist party.)

My Life in Stalin's Prison Camps

Rise of the Anti-Stalinist Youth Opposition

By Brigitte Gerland

I begin this article with a quotation from the first manifesto issued by the communist resistance group which calls itself by the significant name of "Istinni Trud Lenina" (ITL, or Lenin's True Works). My purpose is to demonstrate by means of this document, how this group aspires to continue the line of Bolshevism.

"What are the aims of the communist resistance movement in the USSR? They are:

"To wage a struggle against the system of government which rests on the bureaucracy and the army and which can be eliminated only by a political revolution.

"To install full democracy in the shape of a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government, the first stage toward the classless society.

"The foundations of a Socialist Soviet republic are necessarily constituted by the Soviets of industrial plants and of collective farms which exercise legislative, executive and judicial powers; and which are elected by all the toilers, workers and peasants, through universal suffrage and the secret ballot. **In cases of proven incompetence, any member of the Soviet is subject to recall through the same electoral procedure; and the term in office is not fixed in advance by a given legislative period.**

"Each industrial plant belongs to the union of its particular branch of industry, which is headed by the Union Soviet. It is elected by the soviets of all the plants in that union. The Union Soviets together then elect the Supreme Workers' Soviet in which the highest legislative and executive authority resides.

"The collective farms, on the other hand, are joined together by districts; and the peasant Soviets, elected by each cooperative, elect District Soviets, which, in turn, elect the Supreme Peasants' Soviet in which, jointly with the Supreme Workers' Soviet, the highest powers reside.

"Professional bureaucrats must be replaced by workers' and peasants' committees which carry out all the administrative, economic and social tasks required for the maintenance and growth of the collective society.

"The permanent standing army with its corps of career officers must make way for a Workers' and Peasants' Militia, whose only superiors shall be Soldiers' Soviets elected by the armed forces.

"To attain these objectives, it is necessary to sweep away the monstrous oligarchy of all-powerful bureaucrats and ambitious militarists whose sole interest is to exploit the Soviet people and expropriate them of all political rights in order thus to remain in power. Only their overthrow will clear the road to communism."

This manifesto was drawn up in 1948 by a dozen Moscow students, and then reproduced and circulated secretly at the University. The young Leninists had no contact of any kind with the old Opposition because all of the old Oppositionists had been liquidated by Stalin and his henchmen. The theses of these young Leninists attracted so many students to them that in a few months the ITL already counted hundreds of members and had adherents not only in Moscow but also in the Universities of Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa.

Despite the jeopardy to their lives and livelihoods at so early an age and so definitively, the youth, who rallied to this underground organization, saw their main enemy not in Stalin, as a personality, but in the bureaucratic, totalitarian system he incarnated. **When the dictator, after his long reign, finally died, an event no one regretted, they likewise harbored no illusions concerning his possible successors. They expected nothing from the much ballyhooed "liberalization," since it could not, in the existing circumstances, signify anything else but a move to the right and a further aggravation of the already intolerable social contradictions.**

From the very start of Malenkov's reign, the communist students made it clear that broad layers of the ruling bureaucracy would work, might and main, to consolidate their political power on the economic plane; that is to say they would readily promote private capitalist tendencies, in order, with their aid, to transform themselves from more or less dependent, state-employed persons into independent proprietors; and in this way, convert the unstable layer of exploiters to which they belonged into a ruling class resting economically upon private property relations.

NO ILLUSIONS

From this standpoint — the only one possible under the Malenkov regime — liberalization and reform meant a threat to the socialist economy and to the Soviet proletariat bound up with this economy, rather than any improvement in the lot of the Soviet toilers as a whole.

No member of the resistance movement would entertain even for a moment the illusion that the new ruling clique would go so far in its "liberalization" as to allow the opposition a chance to express itself; because any such tolerance would spell suicide for the ruling layer, something which a most extreme optimist could not possibly discount.

Among the basic tenets held by the Leninist students is this that the transition to communism can be achieved only by the working classes of all countries, acting in common, in a revolution embracing the whole world. That is why they categorically condemned the Stalinist policy of nationalistic expansion.

Opposition members condemned all the annexations by the Soviet Union perpetrated after the war; because these annexations run counter to the principle of national self-determination so passionately defended by Lenin.

The author is a German writer who spent eight years in Stalin's concentration camps — six of them in the Arctic Circle — after she became disillusioned with Stalinism in East Germany. Her articles have been translated by Robert Dunlap from the French Trotskyist newspaper La Verite. Five previous installments have already appeared. They may be obtained for ten cents each from the Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

They criticized Soviet policy in the buffer countries and East Germany as incompatible with Marxist perspectives. In all their discussions they underscored that if this policy could not be termed imperialist it was solely owing to the fact that there were no private capitalist forces inside the Soviet Union which would lead to the policy of investments in the conquered countries; but in the systematic exploitation of the "native" proletariat of these countries, it was in no way different from imperialist colonialism.

OPPOSITION AT WORK

This movement, which lives in illegality and is organized into tiny groups, obviously does not possess a complete program; and there are many lapses in its definition of strategy and tactics. On important points there is a certain vagueness. For example, the Stalinist system is often characterized as state capitalism, despite the numerous clarifications Lenin has made on this subject. But incredible as it may seem, the members of this underground organization have had the opportunity to discuss their program, among a rather wide audience, prior to their arrival in camp.

The groups are made up of circles of three to four individuals, linked with one another by liaison agents in order to coordinate propaganda work within the narrow limits imposed. Each circle carries out a different task. One writes leaflets; another operates mimeographs obtained with the greatest of difficulties and hidden away in a garret of a love-nest bungalow; a third seeks out the best ways and means of getting propaganda material into the hands of prospective readers.

In addition to written propaganda, and with a view toward recruitment, there is oral propaganda by means of discussion groups, or "flying squadrons" who make their appearance anywhere an opportunity offers for intervening in a political discussion and giving it an orientation.

Naturally, this subversive activity, mounting from month to month, could not long escape the notice of secret-police spies. Nevertheless, **"Istinni Trud Lenina"** succeeded for almost two years in remaining undiscovered while working in the very centers of intellectual life, and even establishing contacts, quite limited to be sure, with the workers in big city factories.

It was at this stage that the underground organization suffered its first serious blow. In a single night, entirely unexpectedly, hundreds of its members were arrested and condemned to 25-year terms at hard labor, in trials held behind closed doors. But news of the dramatic scenes at these trials nevertheless traveled from ear to ear through the whole of Moscow.

The will of the defendants to struggle for their political aims was not broken by the long journey to the forced-labor camps of Siberia and the Arctic regions. In camp they came in contact with other oppositional groups, of whose existence they had been previously entirely unaware. They found allies and the opportunity for political activity among layers of the population to whom they had no access with their propaganda while they were at liberty.

In the days when the mass arrests had virtually wiped out the Leninist group, there arose, also at Moscow, a second underground student organization, which likewise claimed adherence to Marxism but represented anarcho-syndicalist tendencies. Its slogan was "Soviets but No Party." It saw the root of all evils in the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Party; and regarded the party itself as the breeding center from which the official oligarchy grew and spread like a blight over the entire state apparatus. ITL members, on the contrary, always held the position that the world revolution was impossible without a world communist party, leading the proletariat in the struggle.

Another point of difference was the opposition of the anarchists to any centralization of state direction; and in their program for a trade-union government, set up in Soviets and coordinated by committees of Deputies. To defend the interests of the peasant population, they proposed to form unions of agricultural workers, corresponding in structure to the industrial unions; in this way they believed they could eliminate the political and economic differences between the village and the city.

In the camps, where members of the anarchist group soon made their appearance, the two resistance groups, despite heated theoretical disputes, merged so swiftly that within a few years there was, in effect, only a unified organization, with factions in it.

The most heated discussions occurred over the issue which might roughly be formulated as "War or Revolution?" At the bottom of this interminable dispute was the following problem: Upon leaving the camps, and counting upon the support of millions of political and ordinary prisoners, how best and most effectively to fight the Stalinist regime? The possibilities and perspectives of strikes and uprisings were topics of endless discussion. In these discussions, a differentiation took place.

Some young oppositionists held the view that any large-scale undertaking was out of the question until after the eruption of a decisive military conflict between the East and the West. In this attitude there lurked dangerous illusions about the United States, in which many Marxists and active members of the Leninist and anarchist groups pinned their hopes, to a surprising degree. They were sincerely convinced that the Western capitalist states would agree, after crushing the expanding, totalitarian system of the Stalinist bureaucracy, to effect an acceptable compromise with a Socialist Soviet Republic, and to accept the pre-1939 frontiers.

"OUR ONLY HOPE"

These erroneous views held by members of the vanguard are obviously to be explained only by their ignorance of the overall political situation and by their decades' of isolation from the world labor movement. However, notwithstanding these regrettable and understandable errors, there existed groups capable of giving a clear analysis and an accurate evaluation of the role of the imperialist bloc in a future war.

For a long time they remained in a minority, but the political evolution of recent years kept confirming their views and events came to their assistance. After Stalin died, they formulated the thesis of an "era of peaceful coexistence between Malenkov and Eisenhower at the expense of the working class," and the "pro-American" comrades came to regard this thesis with less and less doubts. Thus it was that one of the last leaflets to come into my hands prior to my departure to the West contained the following passage:

"The international bourgeoisie will far more easily reach an agreement with the Kremlin bureaucracy to oppress the workers and crush their revolution with the Kremlin's cooperation, than it would agree to get along with a Communist Soviet State, ready to fight unsparingly for the oppressed and the exploited of all the nationalities. Our only hope lies in the revolution."

(Sixth of a series. Watch for the next installment.)

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

Snake-Oil Salesmen in the Senate

There seems to be something about human nature under capitalism that makes the average person fascinated by the boldness and slickness of the professional con man. A good percentage of the ordinary folk at carnivals who listen to the phoney patter of the snake-oil barker buy the stuff not because they think it's any good but as a reluctant tribute to the artistry of the swindler.

In old New England, where the Yankees were famous for and proud of their sharp dealings (they were the ones who sold wooden nutmegs), an outsider who outwitted them was not denounced as a cheat but was admired for his skill. The old Yankee saying was that it was "better to be shaved by a sharp razor than a dull one."

So today one can't help marvelling at the boldness and swift patter of the liberal politicians in the Senate. When it comes to brass Senators Humphrey, Douglas, Morse et al needn't tip their hats to anyone.

They have just introduced eleven civil rights bills into Congress. These deal with FEPC, poll tax, lynching, Jim Crow in interstate travel, and other issues vital to the fight for full citizenship for the Negro people and other minorities.

These bills aren't intended to be passed, indeed they probably aren't even intended to be voted on. They are intended only to make the record. That is, to enable the sponsoring Senators to declare in public speeches that they fought for civil rights legislation.

The fate of these bills and all civil rights legislation was sealed the first day of Congress and by these very same liberal Senators. On the first day the Senate rules can be changed by a majority vote. If it isn't done then the old rules go into effect making it impossible to end a filibuster. Any proposal to end a filibuster by changing the rules can itself be filibustered to death.

For years the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization of 50 groups including NAACP, CIO, AFL, has been working to get a vote on opening day to change Senate Rule 22 (the rule permitting filibusters). Many Senators, including Humphrey, Douglas, Morse and most of the other sponsors of the latest batch of civil rights bills, have long been pledged to fight for a change in Senate Rule 22 on opening day.

When this session of Congress met the vital day passed without even a whisper about Senate Rule 22, let alone a fight on it. Why? Senators Humphrey and the others had held a conference and decided not even to bring up the subject lest it offend the Southern Democrats.

When criticized for this surrender without a battle, Humphrey made a glib explanation about the bill not having a chance and how he could have introduced such a bill and made pretty speeches that would have gone over big with the Negro and labor public, but that he was too honest to engage in such demagogy when there was no possibility of success.

Now when there is even less chance of passing civil rights legislation — indeed the bills can not even be brought to a vote since the Southern Democrats will filibuster — Humphrey and gang make a grandstand play with the introduction of not one, but eleven civil rights bills.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, sadder but wiser after its experience with the Senate liberals, met the introduction of the eleven bills with a not exactly enthusiastic statement that "the task is not the introduction of this legislation, but the getting of it to the floor of the Senate for debate and passage." This means they suspect that Humphrey and gang have just tossed the bills into the hopper and have no intention of even trying to get them out of committee pigeonholes.

A con man can't keep fleecing the same customers again and again. One of these days the Negro and working people of this country are going to retire their liberal "friends" from politics and send them back to selling snake oil and lightning rods.

The 'Right-to-Wreck' Laws

By Roy Gale

THE CASE AGAINST "RIGHT TO WORK" LAW. By the Congress of Industrial Organization, Washington, D. C. $2.00. 171 Pages.

The first impression I had when I started to read this book was good. But as I read further I was disappointed. As an answer to "right-to-work" laws the book has serious weaknesses. What I expected from an answer to the open-shop bosses was an explanation of how these laws affect the unions, and, then, a program of action for combatting them. The book, however, largely confines itself to telling what the laws are.

These "right-to-wreck" laws, as the unions correctly characterize them, are allowed under seciton 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. States are allowed to pass anti-labor legislation which is harsher on labor than the federal law. The state laws are designed to allow the bosses to infiltrate non-union and anti-union elements into the plants and to hamstring organizing drives in open-shop areas.

The text of the CIO book is cluttered with reprints of the various state laws. It would have been better for the average reader to put these laws in an appendix at the back; then in plain English explained just what the laws are and how they function.

One of the book's major failings is a never-ending stream of quotations from liberal senators, congressmen and college professors. What many of these quotes actually amount to is a plea to the anti-union bosses in the South. In effect the CIO authors try to say: "We get along well with management in those plants that have union security. It is to your advantage to deal with responsible unions."

They quote the National Industrial Conference Board, a research agency wholly supported by the employers:

"Some executives believed that . . . under a closed-shop agreement, the union could have better control over its members, enforce discipline, and thus assure compliance with all the provisions of the union contract." And, "The union would not be under the same pressure to seek constantly for new concessions from management. Once its position has been made secure it does not have to struggle to hold its membership by repeatedly demonstrating its ability to obtain new advantages."

I don't believe that the employers really like the union-shop — or any other form of union security. What they are willing to do, is recognize reality after a union has demonstrated its ability to bring the employer to terms, and use the treachery of the union bureaucrats to discipline the membership. But any "appeal to reason" to open-shop employers, preaching that union security is good for them is bound to fall on deaf ears.

Despite these obvious weaknesses the book is worthy of a place in your library. Valuable ammunition can be found in it, especially in the appendices, to fight these "right-to-wreck" laws.

Notes from the News

THE ENTIRE TERRITORY OF HAWAII, which has a population of over half a million, has been labelled a security risk by Congressman Pillion (R-N.Y.). He said the 1954 election in Hawaii "was a complete victory for the International Longshoremen's Union and the Communist Party," and that statehood for the territory would be inviting "two Soviet agents to take seats in the U.S. Senate."

* * *

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER shot two birds "in the fading light amid the scrub pines of Southern Georgia," according to the Feb. 11, N. Y. Times. The quail hunt took place on Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey's 600-acre estate "Milestone Plantation." The Times reports that Eisenhower went out: "With a twenty-gauge double-barreled shotgun cradled in his arm, he rode atop a black and red hunting 'roadster' drawn by two white mules. Mr. Humphrey sat beside him."

* * *

"IF A PROMINENT INDUSTRIALIST is having an outing with his family aboard his yacht, and we ask if we may take pictures, he might say that he would rather we'd not because he was in the midst of labor negotiations in his plant. In such case, we might take a shot just of the youngsters and forget the yacht as far a pictures go," reports Society Editor Eleanor Breitmeyer of the Detroit News.

* * *

NEGROES WERE FORCED to leave a Lincoln Day Republican dinner held Feb. 12 at the Urmey Hotel in Miami, Florida. Edward N. Claughton, owner of the hotel threatened to put out the lights unless the 25 Negroes left the dining hall. About 150 white guests out the 400 present, joined the Negroes in a noisy protest walkout. The majority of the audience remained to hear the speaker praise Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party.

* * *

FARM SURPLUSES OWNED by the federal government totaled $4,230,963,386 at the end of 1954. In addition the government had out on loan $2,940,261,913 for farm products. A total investment of $7.1 billion. The storage bill for this vast mountain of farm "surpluses" amounts to $700,000 every single day. In 1954 the total investment climbed $1.5 billion over 1953. Two products, wheat and corn, account for nearly $3 billion of the total, while four products, cotton, wheat, tobacco and corn, account for the bulk of the money out on loan — $2.4 billion out of $2.9 billion.

* * *

LOYALTY OATHS imposed on veterans and others seeking tax exemptions were declared unconstitutional by the Contra Costa County, California, Superior Court. The court's five judges handed down a unanimous decision that the 1952 law violates free speech guaranteed by the U.S. Constitutions, American Civil Liberties Union counsel Lawrence Speiser filed the case when he was denied the standard $1,000 exemption for veterans. He refused to sign the special loyalty oath required by the 1952 law. The Court said: "In effect the provisions involved here require those who advocate doctrines unacceptable to the rest of us to pay a higher tax than those who refrain from expressing such doctrines."

* * *

"THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION has become the largest single consumer of electric power in the United States," according to the Feb. 13 N. Y. Times. The AEC used 4% of the kilowatt-hours produced in 1954. It is estimated that this year the AEC will up it consumption of electricity to 9%, and in 1956 to 13%.

Campus Club In Detroit Scores Bill

DETROIT, Feb. 14. — The Young Socialist Club of Wayne University last week voted unanimously to "strongly condemn and oppose" Section 685 of State Senate Bill 1011, which is designed to bar minority parties from the ballot by requiring a prohibitive number of signatures on election petitions.

A resolution adopted by the club noted that "the enactment of this measure would strike at the rights not only of existing minority parties but also at the rights of all other citizens who might wish at some future date to form a new party."

It also explained that "the exclusion of the socialist parties from the Wayne County ballot would have the effect, under present regulations governing political clubs at Wayne University, of prohibiting the further existence and functioning of the Young Socialist Club, which cooperates with the socialist parties appearing on the ballot."

Thus the Young Socialists are opposed to Section 685 on the general ground that it would restrict the rights of minority parties and on the additional specific ground that it would endanger the YSC's recognition as an official campus club.

Besides asking the State Legislature to defeat the measure, the resolution proposed that "all political and non-political clubs, tendencies and individuals in the campus community be urged to take similar action against this undemocratic attempt to limit the choice of the voters at the polls by legislative and political restraints."

The Young Socialist Club also decided to invite George Breitman, former editor of The Militant, to speak at a celebration meeting next Thursday on the subject, "Washington and Lincoln, American Revolutionists."

Auto Workers, Beware!

The "human engineering" departments of the big auto corporations are reported all agog about the development in England of the "almost perfect chicken." This bird has been bred by a Yorkshireman. It lays 250 eggs a year as compared with the 180 to 200 eggs produced by average unspeeded-up hens. Best of all, it eats less corn. The GM, Ford and Chrysler scientists are believed to be investigating the new chicken to see if any of the principles used in developing it can be applied to producing an "almost perfect auto worker."

SWP Candidate in L.A. Fights Thought-Control

By C. Thomas

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 12 — The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party is sponsoring the candidacy in the April primary election for member of the school board of Robert Morgan, militant young student and fighter for academic freedom in the public school system.

ROBERT E. MORGAN

Members and friends of the SWP aided Bob Morgan in the circulation of nominating petitions in which the necessary 500 valid signatures were obtained and filed with the election board. The board has certified the candidacy of Bob Morgan for member of the Los Angeles School Board in the April 5 primary. As it is a "non-partisan" election none of the candidates carry a party designation.

In an interview with a reporter for The Militant, Bob Morgan vigorously assailed the witch-hunt atmosphere now prevailing in the Los Angeles school system and announced that in his campaign he would center his main fire against all of its manifestations. "Teachers in the Los Angeles school system," he asserted, "are so terrorized and intimidated by the witch hunters, that they dare not teach the truth about any of the social problems that afflict our society."

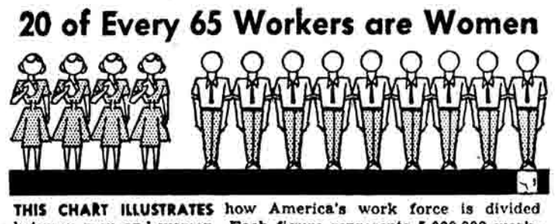
As part of his campaign against the witch hunt Morgan is demanding the immediate repeal of the notorious Dilworth Act under which many California teachers have been victimized. The Dilworth Act empowers the authorities to discharge school teachers who exercise their constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment and refuse to give testimony to the witch hunters.

Bob Morgan is also demanding immediate reinstatement of all teachers discharged under the Dilworth Act and other such devices and is challenging all school board candidates to state their position on this fundamental issue.

"The end and aim of the witch hunt," said Morgan, "is to compel the teacher to conform to the most reactionary prejudices. It is not enough, for the teacher to remain aloof from the conspiracy to poison young and pliable minds. The witch hunters demand that teachers prove their loyalty by inoculating their pupils with capitalism's most poisonous falsifications.

"If elected to the school board," Bob Morgan concluded, "I shall do my utmost to restore some measure of academic freedom so that the youth of this city will have some chance of learning the truth about the society in which we live and having learned the truth to do something about changing it for the better."

20 of Every 65 Workers are Women



THIS CHART ILLUSTRATES how America's work force is divided between men and women. Each figure represents 5,000,000 workers—20,000,000 women and 45,000,000 men. Statistics come from Labor department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.

Fear Police Terrorism Against Puerto Ricans

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — Henry Matthews, a young Puerto Rican laborer died in the electric chair at Sing Sing Thursday, Feb. 10, after last minute pleas for clemency had been denied by Democratic Governor Harriman.

Matthews, 18, along with Pedro Rios, and Estrada Corea, was sentenced to death last April for the murder of an 85 year old woman. Their trial was conducted in an hysterical atmosphere following the shooting in congress by Puerto Rican nationalists. **They testified that statements introduced by the police had been gotten by third degree methods. During the trials a witness for the prosecution retracted his testimony against the boys. In addition no Puerto Rican sat on the jury.**

Harriman commuted the sentence of Corea however, to life imprisonment because of his youth. Corea was 17 at the time of conviction and the youngest person to be sentenced to death in New York.

CRUEL DELAY

Special Sessions Judge Goldstein who presided at the trial of the boys had written to Harriman requesting clemency for Corea on these grounds. Goldstein had been accused by three appeals judges of making several "erroneous statements" during the trial which may have prejudiced the boys' case. They dissented from upholding conviction on the grounds that a new trial was necessary to clear up these errors.

But Harriman did not commute Corea's death sentence until he had been led to the shadow of the electric chair.

Pedro Rios, 22, was given a stay of execution pending the outcome of sanity tests. During the clemency hearings it was "discovered" that he had already had two such tests, one in June of 1954, and the other Jan. 17, two weeks after the court of appeals upheld conviction by a vote of four to three. This "discovery" was "legally" recorded in time to snatch Rios from the electric chair at the last moment.

The indecent haste to put these three young Puerto Ricans to death is calculated to strike fear and a "healthy respect for the law" into the minds of the Puerto Rican people. In addition it gives the cops a green light to loosen their clubs in minority communities.

A striking example of New York's police in action is the case of Sergeant Carboy and Patrolman Caffrey now facing trial on charges of "prejudicial conduct."

FAKE RAPE CASE

Last June they arrested two Puerto Rican youths, Eneris Santa, and Victor Vazquez Caban, both 17, on the charge rape. Unable to raise bail the boys sat in the Tombs for over five months awaiting trial. ("The Tombs is more than a name for a jail: it is a description."—Fern Marja, N.Y. Post.) A witness was then found who testified that the "victim" of the "rape" had invited the boys attention after he had brushed her off. The cops were forced to admit that their charge of having to disarm the boys of an open knife was false. In addition their claim at the time of arrest that the boys were under the influence of narcotics was never introduced as testimony.

Swabeck Lecture Foretells End of Profits System

MINNEAPOLIS,, Feb. 12 — Pressure of the will of people everywhere in the world is forcing the imperialists in Washington to move in the direction of coexistence for the period ahead, Arne Swabeck, noted Marxist writer and lecturer, said at a public meeting here tonight.

Speaking on "Socialism and the World Crisis," Swabeck cited the increasing resistance by the French and German peoples to the rearmament of Germany, the English Labor Party's demands for Washington to withdraw from Formosa, and Eisenhower's presidential victory in 1952 — based on his promise to end the Korean war — as examples of the imperialists' inability to drive the people into war at the present time.

"The material basis for the world crisis," Swabeck stated, "is that the colonial peoples, who for centuries have been exploited and oppressed, have now decided to put an end to that oppression. This is true particularly in Asia.

"The crisis in production in the capitalist countries, such as the U.S.," Swabeck said, "occurs because the world market is artificially limited by the fact that we are not supposed to trade with the people who really need goods, such as the Chinese.

"Now U.S. production has reached a point where there are more goods than the people can buy. Unemployment rolls in alongside of increased production — an example of the anarchy of production under capitalism," Swabeck observed.

"Only the workers acting in international cooperation can put an end to this world crisis. In the United States, only the workers, by adopting socialist aims, can do away with the crisis of anarchy of production," Swabeck concluded.

A number of university students who attended the meeting and participated in the question period, remained after the meeting for an enjoyable social of square dancing, singing and more discussion. Comrade Swabeck was kept busy discussing Socialism the entire evening.

Are We Men or Are We Moles?

By Theodore Kovalesky

You are in a vast, echoing cavern. Somewhere above you symmetrical rows of lights pour down their metallic rays, so there is no darkness. Rows upon rows of buildings stretch as far as your eye can reach, but they are different from the buildings you have known before. For here no rain falls. Here there is no wind, no snow.

Walk down the street. Hear the sounds of traffic which boom and reverberate at you from resounding rock. See the pallid, dull-eyed people that pass. There is much to admire here. Everywhere you note scientific conservation of space. Take trees and grass, for instance, gardens and parks. A tree takes a lot of space with its spreading branches. And a lawn, what a waste of space that is, soft and green and spreading out over yards and yards of land. Here are no trees, no lawns. This is a vast hole hewn out of solid rock far beneath the surface of the ground.

There is a pounding noise in the air. It is not merely the pulsing of the air ducts or the whirring of giant fans. This is a sharper, heavier sound that grows louder as you approach it. You are coming to the factory district of an underground city. Within fenced-off areas ladles spill blinding yellow steel into molds and amber vapor is sucked up into exhaust conduits. Behind other fences machines snarl and hammer and gray-clad men hover about them or race frantically to keep pace with them. The noise is deafening.

Turn away Turn toward the boxes where the workers live. No rain falls here, nor snow. So there is no need of insulation. Sounds from within the boxes pour through to the outside, private sounds, personal sounds. There is no grass, so the living places are close together, their separate sounds commingling. Like the interior of a huge ant hill life eddies about you with nervous speed. **You wonder, has the human race become suddenly twice as fertile? But even as you wonder, you realize that it has not. You realize that it has learned to adapt itself to half the space it lived in before.**

Walk about some more beneath the metallic glare of the symmetrical rows of lights on the cavern roof. Count the steps in any direction. How far can you go until you come to the rock wall which is the end of the world for those who dwell here underground?

How soon will it get you? How soon will a mad hunger to see the sky rage up in you? Pause. Let your mind dwell on the children born and reared here. You could say to them, "The sky, now, that is like the air between the street and the roof . . . only it is much higher, and it looks blue. In it there is something called the sun and it is like one of the lights on the cavern roof, but it is thousands and millions of times bigger and brighter. And there are birds, living things that fly through the air . . ."

And perhaps the child would nod and answer, "Oh, like guided missiles?"

Today in every drug store you will find books of science fiction. Look at their bizarre covers. Scan their contents. They are the modern "ghost" stories to thrill and frighten us in our leisure hours. But the picture of the underground city is drawn from none of these. And I didn't make it up, except for filling in some of the details.

The idea comes from Civil Defense Director Val Peterson. According to an International News Service story by Darrel Garwood, who interviewed Mr. Peterson, America's city dwellers can build "underground cities if necessary for the protection against the weapons of the future — intercontinental guided missiles.

"Far from being appalled by the latter prospect," the story continues, "Mr. Peterson contended that in the long run underground cities will prove cheaper, healthier and more pleasant than those existing on the surface at present." Later the article states, "He was enthusiastic, however, about the possibilities of underground building."

Mr. Peterson is enthusiastic! Here is a noble enthusiasm and progressive thought! Here we see the twisted minds of America's rulers, desperate, terrified by the conditions which they themselves have created. They unleash their mighty battleships to range the seven seas. They deploy their troops on the very doorsteps of every rival and potential rival. They brandish their nuclear weapons in the face of the world and hoarsely shriek their challenges to all who do not bow down before them. They live with the daily thought of war and they accept it as right. And they tremble!

They have stated: there is no defense against atomic weapons. They are prepared to list casualty statistics in "megadeaths." And out of this numbing horror and hysteria is spewed the "enthusiasm" of men like Peterson. He has found a happy solution. That guided missiles should streak across oceans at 10,000 miles an hour bearing their cargo of incredible destruction, that is a fact, a situation that is accepted, something that is as it should be. Their solution is to entomb the human race, to create in the bowels of the earth hives where workers may toil, and pallid human beings may exist far beneath the scorched and blackened crust, far from the sunlight and the swing of the seasons.

The Director of Civil Defense sees "healthy cities" underground. But how can that be? Why should the capitalist government he represents give us healthful places to live in great subterranean caverns when they have not yet bothered to do it on the surface of the earth? Even in the slums you can see the sun. And even prisoners sometimes glimpse the sky.

Would we ever be permitted to climb to the surface? And if we did, would there still be meadows and forests? Or would there be smouldering, radioactive ruins? And if we could not come up, if we must remain buried in these human ant hills, what would have been our crime that we should have been condemned to a lifetime of imprisonment? Are we men, or are we moles?

Centuries grew into ages, and ages piled one on top of another as Paleolithic Man went forth from the smoky caves where he huddled for shelter and protection and waged his agonizing struggle for knowledge and civilization. **Today mankind stands on the brink of the future. But a minority bars the way. The capitalist rulers of the world stand prepared to betray all of history and humanity. They would return us to the smoky caves from whence we have come. And imperialist America's Director of Civil Defense is "enthusiastic"!**

LOS ANGELES

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